

5. The Civilian Elite

We are at the beginning of the 05th century. The Spring and Autumn state is being refashioned and reorganized, and is readying itself for future conquest. What more does it need? We may let the war machine itself answer that:

5:1 (Sündž 2, excerpt, c0311). The rule for using troops. Fast four-horse chariots, one thousand. Covered chariots, one thousand. Men in armor, ten myriad. Provisions for a thousand leagues 千里. Then what with the internal and external expenses, the necessities for visitors and guests,¹ materials like glue and lacquer and the readying of carriages and armor, the daily expense will run to a thousand of gold. After that [is in hand], the host of ten myriad can be raised.

Before war must come the wherewithal for war. This required an expanded civilian staff, managed by a civilian elite. Like the warriors, the civilian elite needed its own value system. Where was it to come from?

In part from experience of the new situation. But socially, from two sources. One was the followers of Confucius, the jywǎndž 君子 or “gentlemen,” coming from the warrior tradition or otherwise familiar with palace ways. The other was people one step down socially: traders and wealthy landowners, eventually organized under the leadership of one Mwò Dí 墨翟 or Mwòdž. These we call the Micians.² They had a quite different view of the state, in some ways more enthusiastic (they viewed law, which the Confucians resented, as beneficial) and in other ways hostile (they opposed war, with which at first the Confucians had no problem). The two provide philosophical contrast throughout the period, though tending to come together toward its end.

There were issues for both. The Confucians felt that the duty of a ruler was to entrust the government to a wise minister. The problem of how to identify a wise minister was never solved, and no constitutional or other way of giving him executive power was ever found. The Micians sought in the concept of Heaven a higher power to which ruler and people would alike be subject. The Confucians made a similar attempt with the rules of ritual, or as we might say, due process, which ruler and minister would alike respect. None of this worked: the ritual system and the cosmos both supported the position of the ruler. This is a history without a Magna Carta, or the loss of sovereignty which in ancient Greece had forced the cities to reinvent government de novo. The state became conceptually separate from the ruler, but this did not undermine the ruler.

Protest was thus perilous; both Confucians and Micians showed courage.

¹Diplomacy, both between states and between armies, was part of war.

²From the early Jesuit romanization of Mwòdž 墨子 (Master Mwò) as Micius.

The 05th Century

By the beginning of the 05c, a civil service tradition was already in being. In Lǚ, it consisted of admired figures from the past, somewhat re-envisioned as civil servants.³ We can get a sense of them from some remarks, many of them disapproving, made in the Confucian school text, the *Analects*. For example:

5:2 (LY 5:18, excerpt, c0470). Dzāng Wǎn-jùng had a Tsài tortoise in his house; he had mountain rafters and waterweed beams.

This is criticized by “Confucius” as inappropriate luxury. The implication is that at least current bureaucrats were earning big salaries, and liking it.

5:3 (LY 5:19a, excerpt, c0470). Director Intendant Dž-wǎn 令尹子文 thrice took office as Director Intendant without showing pleasure, and thrice left it without showing resentment; of the former Director Intendant’s acts he would always inform the new Director Intendant.

This shows fidelity to the needs of government, and in particular, to continuity in government operations, along with an admirable lack of personal feeling about the ups and downs of employment. Dedication to the job.

5:4 (LY 5:19b, excerpt, c0470). Master Tswēi assassinated the ruler of Chí. Chǎn Wǎndž had horses for ten chariots,⁴ but he abandoned them and left him. Reaching another state, he said, They are as bad as our great officer Master Tswēi, and left them. Arriving at yet another state, he again said, They are as bad as our great officer Master Tswēi . . .

Notice the scruple about serving a bad ruler, but also the lack of scruple about taking office in another, necessarily a rival, state. Civic virtue was portable.

The Way. We have noticed these passages before (**#3:3-4**), as attesting a legal system, including imprisonment, by the early 05c. For the Confucians, this was not the right Way of government, and they do not accept its judgements:

5:5 (LY 5:1, c0470). The Master said of Gūngyě Cháng 公也長, He is marriageable. Though he has been in durance, it was not his fault. And he gave him his daughter to wife.

5:6 (LY 5:2, c0470). The Master said of Nán Rúng 南容, When the state has the Way 道, he will not be cast aside. When the state has not the Way, he will keep clear of penalties and punishments. And he gave him his elder brother’s daughter to wife.

The surnames imply men of modest background (Confucius himself had only modest influence). Such men were eligible for office, but also vulnerable.

³Leading Spring and Autumn figures were of military background, and their careers included both military and civilian responsibilities. For the change, see Brooks **Lore**.

⁴That is, he was high enough in rank to be able to field a small army of his own. The Chǎn or Tyén family later would usurp the throne of Chí. But all that lay in the future, and in this passage Chǎn Wǎndž appears as an exemplary figure.

Confucius, Kǔng Chyōu 孔丘 of Lǔ,⁵ was born in 0549⁶ and died in 0479. His father had earned a landholding by his valor in battle (page 33). Like other landed warriors, Confucius had a client circle: people of lower status than himself, for whom he was a patron and a possible career contact.⁷

He had served in the escort of Jāu-gūng when Jāu-gūng was exiled in 0517. The next Lǔ Prince, Dìng-gūng (r 0509-0495), proceeded with success against the Three Clans. By 0498, the position of the legitimate line had stabilized. Confucius served Dìng-gūng and his successor Aī-gūng (r 0494-0468) in modest but largely civilian ways,⁸ as a provider of talent for the state.

Confucius advised his protégés by remarks. After his death, one of his protégés, probably Dž-gùng 子貢, recorded sixteen of those remarks. These became the nucleus of the *Analects*, the house text of the Lǔ Confucian school. This, then, is the real Confucius, as his own protégés chose to remember him:

Rǔn. Dž-gùng arranged the sayings in four groups. The first focuses on rǔn 仁, “otherness” or “benevolence:” acting for others, not yourself.⁹ To a warrior, it meant dedicated self-sacrifice. for civilians, it meant acting in the public interest. The seven rǔn sayings suggest the stages of a career, from a young aspirant hoping to be noticed, to the senior person who does the noticing.

5:7 (LY 4:1, 0479). The Master said, It is best to dwell among the rǔn. If he choose not to abide in rǔn, how will he get to be known?

5:8 (LY 4:2, 0479). The Master said, He who is not rǔn cannot long abide in privation, and neither can he forever abide in happiness. The rǔn are content with rǔn; the “knowing” turn rǔn to their advantage.

“Knowing” here is sarcastic; it means the worldly-wise. The dedicated person wants to be noticed, not for advantage, but to serve the state, and the state’s only method of recruitment at this early date was personal contact.

⁵“Confucius” is Latinized from Kǔng Fūdž, 孔夫子 “Our Respected Master Kǔng.” His personal name Chyōu 丘 “hill” is related to his formal name Jùng-ní 仲尼 “Second Brother Ní.” Since his older brother was crippled and could not inherit the father’s position, his mother prayed on Ní-shān “Ní Mountain” for a second son. Chyōu “hill” is thus a synonym for “Ní [Mountain].”

⁶The usual birthdate 0551 (with a variant 0552) apparently involves a confusion between Confucius and his older brother; see Brooks *Analects* 264 and 269.

⁷There seem to have been more than sixty of these. For their names and probable social origins, see Brooks *Analects* 272-284.

⁸His military talents were scant. His one foreign assignment was a mission through Sùng to Chvń and Tsà. This failed disastrously; he and his party barely made it back alive (#5:35). The failure provided useful material for later opponents and satirists.

⁹Homophonous with rǔn 人 “man, human,” whence the translation “humane.” In the 05c it refers to behavior toward others; in the 04c, it also comes to mean the ruler’s “benevolence” toward the people, a vertical and not a horizontal relationship.

The next two (all these sayings are paired) show someone already in office:

5:9 (LY 4:3, 0479). The Master said, It is only the *rǎn* who can like others, or hate others.

5:10 (LY 4:4, 0479). The Master said, If he but set his mind on *rǎn*, he will have no hatreds.

One's associates should have the right qualities (**#5:9**), but hatred as such is not the gentleman's business (**#5:10**). "Hatred" is developed in the next pair:

5:11 (LY 4:5, 0479). The Master said, Wealth and honor: these are what men desire; but if he cannot do so in accord with his principles (*dào* 道), he will not abide in them. Poverty and lowliness are what men hate; but if he cannot do so in accord with his principles, he will not avoid them. If a gentleman avoid *rǎn*, how shall he make a name? The gentleman does not for the space of a meal depart from *rǎn*. In direst straits he cleaves to this; in deepest distress he cleaves to this.

5:12 (LY 4:6, 0479). The Master said, I have never seen one who loved the *rǎn* and hated the not-*rǎn*. One who loved the *rǎn* would value nothing else above them; one who hated the not-*rǎn* would himself be already *rǎn*; he would not suffer the not-*rǎn* to come nigh his person. Is there anyone who for a single day can spend all his strength on *rǎn*? I for one have never seen anyone whose *strength* was not up to it. There may be such, but I for one have never seen them.

One's principles or Way (*dào* 道) are the constant. To follow it may be difficult, but it is only will that is lacking. Everyone has the *capacity* to acquire *rǎn*.

This first section ends with an unpaired saying, giving advice to the senior civil servant about evaluating future candidates for office:

5:13 (LY 4:7, 0479). The Master said, People's faults run true to type. If we look at their faults, it is to discover their good qualities [*rǎn*].¹⁰

A shortcoming is definitely a shortcoming, but there may be associated virtues.

The Way. The individual's Way, his *Dào* 道, his principles, we have met above. Here is the public Way, the way the political world should be ordered:

5:14 (LY 4:8, 0479). The Master said, If in the morning he hears that the Way obtains, and that evening he dies, it is enough.

5:15 (LY 4:9, 0479). The Master said, An officer who is dedicated to the Way, but ashamed of his poor clothes or poor food, is not worthy to be called into counsel.¹¹

For one really dedicated to that Way, personal hardship does not matter.

¹⁰Confucius prepares his protégés to enter service, *and* to be effective at later stages of their careers. The same values apply, but the *way* they apply requires guidance.

¹¹It is not only the well dressed who are qualified to discuss policy. Having the right principles (**#5:11**) is not enough; one must be ready to sacrifice all other advantages.

The section ends with a saying which has wider implications:

5:16 (LY 4:10, 0479). The Master said, The gentleman's relation to the larger world is like this: he has no predilections and no prohibitions. If he thinks something is right, he associates himself with it.

We might have expected a loyalty rule; instead, we get integrity: dedication to what is right (yì 義). This is not legal right, but what intuitively ought to be. It is another place where we see the detachment from particular states which also characterized the value system of the Lǚ civil servants at this time (#5:4).

The Narrow View. The next section contrasts the gentleman with the "little man," who is limited by his merely local outlook. This was a problem in recruiting palace personnel from those without a service background.

5:17 (LY 4:11, 0479). The Master said, The gentleman likes virtue 德; the little man likes his own place (tǔ 土). The gentleman likes justice [punishments; syíng 刑]; the little man likes mercy (hwèi 惠).

5:18 (LY 4:12, 0479). The Master said, He who conducts himself with an eye to profit will be much resented.

He is general, not local. In judging cases,¹² he does justice, not favors. Nor is he partial *to himself*; he does not take bribes or work for his own advancement.

The concluding saying in this group is about propriety in government.

5:19 (LY 4:13, 0479). The Master said, Can one run the country with propriety and deference (禮讓)? Then what is the obstacle? But if one *cannot* run it with propriety and deference, what good is propriety?

"Propriety" transmutes the old value of ritual appropriateness into something more nearly procedural: proper form and common principles in office.

The Self. The final group asks: How does one *acquire* the right qualities?

5:20 (LY 4:14, 0479). The Master said, He does not worry that he has no position; he worries how he is going to *perform* in the position. He does not worry that no one knows him;¹³ he seeks to be *worth* knowing.

This is very important.¹⁴ The gentleman is not responsible for results; he is only responsible for his own effort, and his own good qualities, which in part come from an unceasing effort to cultivate them. He is not required to be successful.

In this ethos, which is inherited from that of the warrior tradition, the subordinate dedicates himself wholly to the superior, without thought of reward (duty is not a transactional relationship), and with the understanding that duty is an open-ended obligation, which can never be entirely met.

¹²Notice the implied legal principle: justice is not justice unless it is uniform.

¹³Recognizes his merits; a standard nuance of "know."

¹⁴Variants of this saying were repeated three times in later layers of the Analects.



5:21 (LY 4:16,¹⁵ 0479). The Master said, *The gentleman concentrates on*¹⁶ right; the little man concentrates on advantage.

Here we see that “otherness” (page 123) is focused on right, not on the self.

The group ends with the technique for ethical self-improvement:

5:22 (LY 4:17, 0479). The Master said, When he sees a worthy man, let him think how to come up to him. When he sees an unworthy man, let him examine within himself.

Virtue is not learned in advance of experience, but *by* experience: observing one’s reaction to what others do. One gets outside the self to realize the self.

This is the end of the original set of sayings: the authentic Confucius.

Methodological Moment. What about LY 4:15, which has been omitted?

(1) Form: The pieces on both sides of it, LY 4:14 and 4:16, are part of a pair, so there is nothing left for 4:15 to pair with; it is formally intrusive. Also:

5:23 (LY 4:15, c0294). The Master said, Shǔm 參!¹⁷ My Way 道: by one thing I link it together. Dzǔngdǔ said, Yes. The Master went out, and the disciples asked, What did he mean? Dzǔngdǔ said, Our Respected Master’s Way is simply loyalty and empathy.

(2) Type: Other sayings in this set are quotes; this one is a dialogue. (3) Sense: The meaning of the others is obvious, but this one is cryptic; the disciples must ask. (4) Content: The others are wisdom sayings; 4:15 says that the Master’s remarks *form a system*, an idea otherwise first seen in the late 04c (#5:74-76). The linking principle in this passage (empathy, shù 恕) was actually *rejected* in the 05c; see #5:25 below. So LY 4:15 is not a plausible saying of Confucius.

¹⁵For the gap in the Analects sequence, see the Methodological Moment, below.

¹⁶The words italicized in the translation (君子喻) appear in the above fragment of the Analects portion of the Hân Stone Classics.

¹⁷The original final -m is retained to distinguish Dzǔngdǔ from his son Shǔn 申. For Dzǔngdǔ as the mid 05c head of the Analects school, see below, 127f.

Others. Confucius was not the only preparer of talent for the state, not the only trainer of “gentlemen,” as this remark makes clear:

5:24 (LY 5:3, c0470). The Master said of Dž-jyèn, A gentleman indeed is this man! If Lǚ indeed had no gentlemen, where did he get *that* from?

He obviously got it from his teacher, who (later tradition to the contrary) was not Confucius himself. There were others like Confucius in the same business.

Enter the Micians. We now hear from the people who would later be the highly organized Mician movement. They too, it seems, were in the business of training people in values appropriate to state service. One of their maxims (the one we now call the Golden Rule) had come to the attention of Dž-gùng, who was inclined to adopt it. Confucius, perhaps surprisingly to those coming from a modern European tradition, counsels caution:

5:25 (LY 5:12, c0470). Dž-gùng said, If I do not wish others to do something to me, I wish not to do it to them. The Master said, Sž, this is not something that you can come up to.

Confucius disapproves. But why? Because it contains nothing pertinent to state service; it is strictly interpersonal. It would have been useful to a farm village, as expressing the conventions by which people get along. It would have been useful to a trader, who meets people from a dozen tribes or states in his travels. A century later (#5:68-70), it would be accepted by the Confucians, but much had to happen before that acceptance could take place. Among other things, the Confucians had to acquire an interest in the doings of the lower populace.

Some of the upper populace, the palace circle and its secondary contacts, with whom the 05c Confucian school *were* concerned, were already socially marginal, and had to be defended as nevertheless worthy candidates for office:

5:26 (LY 6:6, c0460). The Master said of Jùng-gūng 仲弓, If the calf of a plough-ox is plain-colored and has horns, even though one might prefer not to use it, are the hills and streams really going to reject it?

Jùng-gūng was the formal name of Rǎn Yūng, of whom Confucius thought highly, though his surname suggests that he had come from a family of dyers. The passage is a strong expression of early Confucian social mobility.¹⁸

Dzṽngdž 曾子 (“Master Dzṽng”), the fourth leader of the Analects group, was a protégé of Confucius’ disciple Dž-yóu, who had been Steward of Dzṽngdž’s native city Wǔ-chṽng 武城, on the southern border of Lǚ, a town controlled by the Lǚ Prince and not the rival Three Clans. Dzṽngdž marks the second generation of the Confucius movement. He had not known Confucius, and it is not surprising that his Confucius (preserved in LY 7, which he wrote) differs in several ways from the one implied in earlier Analects chapters.

¹⁸See later in this chapter. For populism from below, see Chapter 6, The People.

Under Dz̄vngdž, the movement was organized as a school in the usual sense, complete with tuition and an open admissions policy . . .

5:27 (LY 7:7, c0450). The Master said, From those who bring a bundle of dried meat on up,¹⁹ I have never been without a lesson to give them.

but there was a rigorous standard for students once admitted:

5:28 (LY 7:8, c0450). The Master said, If he is not eager, I don't expound. If he is not urgent, I don't explain. If I give out one corner and he doesn't come back with three corners,²⁰ I don't go on.

Dz̄vngdž saw Confucius as content with his lack of political position . . .

5:29 (LY 7:16, c0450). The Master said, Eating coarse food, drinking water, crooking one's arm and pillowing upon it – happiness may also be found in these circumstances. To be unrighteous and so become wealthy and even honored – to me this is like a drifting cloud.

and anxious to improve himself continually:

5:30 (LY 7:22, c0450). The Master said, When I am walking in a group of three people, there will surely be a teacher for me among them. I pick out the good parts and follow them; the bad parts, and change them.

5:31 (LY 7:17, c0450). The Master said, Give me several more years; with fifty to study,²¹ I might come to be without major faults.

What is remarkable is that, in these sayings, Confucius *has no teacher*. He learns by direct observation (**#5:30**) and constant effort (**#5:31**). We are as far as possible from the traditional view that Confucius taught the Classics.

Jōu. On the political side, Dz̄vngdž's great innovation was to associate the principles of Confucius with the culture of the Jōu Dynasty. This worked in Lǚ, because Lǚ saw itself as the cultural and therefore the political heir of Jōu.

5:32 (LY 7:1, c0450). The Master said, In handing on and not inventing, in being faithful to and loving antiquity, I may compare to our old P'vng.

5:33 (LY 7:20, c0450). The Master said, I am not one who knows things from birth. I am one who loves antiquity and diligently seeks after it.

5:34 (LY 7:5, c0450). The Master said, Extreme has been my decline! Long has it been since last I dreamed of Jōu-gūng.

Jōu-gūng 周公 (“The Prince of Jōu”) had been regent for Jōu Wǔ-wáng's heir.

The Confucians are here reaching for a higher identity than just Confucius. They claim that their value system preserves that of the revered Jōu Dynasty. This move won for the Analects group a certain position at the Lǚ court.

¹⁹Apparently, the smallest acceptable gift of a prospective student to a teacher.

²⁰The “one corner” is a teacher's maxim on which the student meditates; see **#7:3**. For more on Dz̄vngdž and the meditation art, see Chapter 7, Transcendence.

²¹Sywé 學 “study” is here not book-learning, but personal self-improvement.

Ch'vn and Ts'ài. The Jōu claim had its mystical side. Here is “Confucius” inspired by Jōu-gūng, and invulnerable (through the “virtue” or d'v 德, almost a magical quality) that is in him, to perils encountered between Ch'vn and Ts'ài:

5:35 (LY 7:23, c0450). The Master said, Heaven begat virtue in me. What does Hwán Twéi expect to do to me?

Hwán Twéi was a minister of S'ung, by whom Confucius, on that dangerous mission for the L'ũ court, was supposed to have been threatened.

Dz'vngdž had his own sense of personal dedication:

5:36 (LY 8:3, 0436). When Master Dz'vng fell ill, he called the disciples at his gate, and said, Uncover my feet, uncover my hands.²² The Sh'ĩ says,

Tremblingly and full of fear,
Like verging on the deep abyss,
Like treading on the thinnest ice –

but now and hereafter, I know I have come through safely, my little ones.

The warrior's open-ended code (no one service fulfils the obligation of duty; duty always requires more) is here put in civilian terms: constant watchfulness.

Dz'vng Yw'án 曾元 succeeded his father Dz'vngdž as head of the Analects school. Here is his version of the Dz'vngdž saying (**#5:35**) about Confucius' sense of personal invulnerability in his Jōu mission:

5:37 (LY 9:5, c0405). The Master was threatened in Kw'áng. He said, Since King W'vn passed away, does not culture survive here? If Heaven were going to destroy this culture, no one of later date could have managed to take part in this culture. And if Heaven is *not* going to destroy this culture, what can the men of Kw'áng do to me?

Dz'vng Yw'án also continued his father's ideal of constant moral effort:

5:38 (LY 9:17, c0405). The Master, standing by a stream, said, Its passing by is like this – it does not cease by day or night.

Like earlier Analects masters (**#5:26**), he could stand social conventions on their heads. Here, he reverses the idea of respect for age:

5:39 (LY 9:23, c0405). The Master said, The young are to be held in awe. How do we know that what is to come will not surpass the present day? But if someone is forty or fifty, and nothing has been heard from him, then indeed he is not worthy to be held in awe.

At this period, as earlier in the 05c (**#5:24**), there were many sources of education for those aspiring to a court position. These schools put out sayings, and by the end of the 05c the sayings had been gathered into texts which were known outside the schools which had produced them.

²²The limbs of a dying man might be held down to prevent his assuming a ritually incorrect posture in death (Waley). For later variants of this story, see Eno **Sources**.

Here, “Confucius” comments on two of those sayings collections:

5:40 (LY 9:24, c0405). The Master said, The words of the Model Maxims (Fǎ Yǔ 法語): can one but assent to them? But the point is to change. The words of the Select Advices (Sywǎn Jyǔ 選舉): can one but delight in them: But the point is to progress. Those who delight but do not progress, who assent but do not change; I don’t know what is to be done with them!

To focus on maxims, and not do what they say, is the great educational mistake. This is an early protest against the textualization of traditions.

We take our leave of Dzǎng Ywǎn by noticing a bit of career advice given out to the Confucian school under his leadership. We should bear in mind that the Confucian school was now in a strong position in the Lǔ capital, so that real advancement in the Lǔ civil service was possible. The problem arises: What to do with friends made at one stage in your career who do not fit in the next stage to which you have now advanced?

5:41 (LY 9:30, c0405). The Master said, One with whom one can study, one cannot always journey with. One with whom one can journey, one cannot always take one’s stand with.²³ One with whom one can take one’s stand, one cannot always consult with.

In short, you dump them.

The 04th Century

Textualization now went into high gear. The leadership of the Confucian school of Lǔ passed from disciples to members of the Kǔng family. These brought with them a new emphasis on lǐ 禮 or ritual, not rńn 仁, as their central value. Probably due to this Kǔng connection with the Lǔ court, another group of Kǔngs gained access to the Lǔ chronicle, known to us as the Chūn/Chyōu, and began to annotate it from a ritual point of view. This grew into the Dzwǒ Jwǎn; by the end of the century, it had become the largest Warring States text.

The Micians also began to issue their ideas in text form, beginning with a long argument against the state’s war policy. This probably comes from the organizer of the movement: Mwò Dí himself.

5:42 (MZ 17:12, excerpt, c0390) . . . Killing one man they call wrong, and will surely judge it to be a capital crime. Extrapolating from this, killing ten men is ten times more wrong . . . With these things, the gentlemen of the world know to condemn them and call them wrong. But if we come to the case of making a great and wrongful attack on some state . . .²⁴

On that critical note was ushered in the Golden Age of Chinese philosophy, when advocates addressed not only the rulers of the day (in remonstrance), but also sought a wider audience. Remonstrance had taken on a public character.

²³That is, “cannot necessarily enter office with.”

²⁴For the whole of this remarkable public protest piece, see #4:3.

The Analects School was now led by Dž-sž, later said to be the grandson of Confucius.²⁵ Under him the school underwent a change in basic values, from Confucius' rǎn 仁 to lǐ 禮 or ritual propriety.²⁶ The first Kǔng addition to the Analects was a brief handbook of official behavior, describing such things as how to “takes one’s stand” at court. Deportment is meticulously described, as though to instruct a newcomer to court service. Some of its prescriptions are:

5:43 (LY 10:2, c0380). When the ruler summons him to attend a visitor, his demeanor is severe and his strides are low. In genuflecting to those with whom he is to take his stand, he extends his hands left and right, letting his garment touch the ground before and behind; he is imposing. When he hastens forward it is as though he were on wings. When the visitor has withdrawn, he must return his charge, saying, The visitor is no longer looking back.

5:44 (LY 10:3, c0380). When approaching the Prince’s gate, he bends his body low, as though it would not admit him; he does not assume an upright posture within the gateway, nor step on the sill. When passing by the Palace, his expression becomes severe and his strides become slow; his words are uttered as though they were insufficient. When gathering the skirt of his robe to ascend the hall, he bends low and holds his breath as though he were not breathing. When he emerges, as soon as he has descended one step, he relaxes his expression and appears more at ease. When he reaches the bottom of the stairs, he hastens forward as though on wings. On returning to his place, he shuffles restlessly.

5:45 (LY 10:13, c0380). When he is ill and the ruler comes to see him, he places his head to the east, covers himself with his court robe, and spreads out his sash.

So as to appear properly dressed for court, even though lying in bed.

5:46 (LY 10:14, c0380). When the ruler’s command summons him, he does not wait for the horses to be yoked, but simply goes.

The position of the Confucians toward the supernatural was ambiguous, but they required respect for the sacrifices and for anything connected with death:

5:47 (LY 10:18, excerpt, c0380). On seeing one fasting or in mourning, even if it is an intimate, he changes expression. On seeing a [sacrificial] officiant or a blind man, even if it is an acquaintance, he assumes the proper attitude. Those in ill-omened garb²⁷ he bows to; he bows to one carrying planks . . .²⁸

Nowhere in this handbook is there a hint of public policy, or personal ethics. Deportment is all.

²⁵This is chronologically impossible; see Brooks **Analects** 263 and 59.

²⁶For LY 9:1, later added to neutralize the 05c teachings, see Brooks **Word**.

²⁷That is, mourning garb. Everything to do with death is “ill-omened.”

²⁸For a coffin, concerning the size of which there were precise ritual specifications.

Later, the Micians became candidates for office. In that role, they accepted more subordination in office than did the Confucians, though from what looks not unlike a meritocratic or social-contract conception of the social order:

5:48 (MZ 11:1-2, excerpts, c0372). When human life began, when there was no government; everyone had their own sense of right 義 . . . Each approved his own sense of right, and disapproved that of others.

. . . The disorder in the human world could be compared with that of birds and beasts. And all this disorder was due to the lack of a ruler. Thus they chose the most virtuous person in the world and made him the Son of Heaven.²⁹ Feeling his inadequacy, the Son of Heaven chose the most virtuous persons in the world and made them the Three Ministers. Seeing the vastness of the Empire and the difficulty of attending to matters of right and wrong or profit and harm among the people of far countries, the ministers divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Feeling their incapacity, the feudal lords in turn chose the most virtuous persons in their states and appointed them as their officials.

The first Micians had earlier argued from common experience. Now for the first time they employ an elite idea, one that the Spring and Autumn astrologers would have recognized: disasters come from the displeasure of Heaven:

5:49 (MZ 11:4, excerpt, c0372). How does it happen that order is brought about in the world? There is order in the world because the Son of Heaven can unify standards in the world. But if the people identify with the Son of Heaven and not with Heaven itself, then the complications are not removed. Now the frequent occurrence of storms and floods are nothing but the punishment of Heaven upon the people for not identifying their standards with those of Heaven . . .

This last point rescues the essay from being a mere counsel of subordination: in the end, it is Heaven, not any mere earthly superior, who must be obeyed. Like the 05c Confucians, the 04c Micians recognize a higher principle.

The Dzwǒ Jwàn Confucians, like the contemporary 04c Analects leaders, had seen things from a ritual viewpoint. They now ventured into Heaven theory, and held that Heaven rewards or punishes the deeds of individuals.

Here, the ruler of Lǚ has sent a message of sympathy for a flood in Sùng:

5:50 (DJ 3/11:2, excerpt, c0370) . . . [The ruler of Sùng] replied, This Lonely One was disrespectful, and Heaven has sent down this disaster.

The theory that good and ill events suffered by individuals are due to their own deeds is often refuted in practice. The Dzwǒ Jwàn people, noticing this, revised their Heaven theory, making success due to Heaven's arbitrary support.³⁰

²⁹One of the epithets of the Jōu King as a universal ruler; the Jōu royal ancestors were thought to reside in Heaven, and to be able to dispense blessings from there.

³⁰For the third phase of DJ thinking about Heaven, see #5:66-67, below.

Thus, in one DJ story, Ch́ng-ǎr (the future Jìn Ẃn-gūng) survives many perils, but then insults the Chǔ ruler. A Chǔ general asks that he be killed:

5:51 (DJ 5/23:6, excerpt, c0348) . . . [The ruler said], When Heaven intends to prosper a man, who can stop him? One who opposes Heaven must incur great guilt.

The Micians stuck to their theory that disaster came from personal failings:

5:52 (MZ 8, excerpts, c0338). Our Master Mwòdž said, This is because in conducting government, the kings, princes, and great men have been unable to exalt the worthy and employ the able . . . In administering government, the Sage Kings of old gave high rank to the virtuous and raised the worthy. Though they were farmers or artisans, if they had ability, they raised them, assigned them rank, awarded them salaries, entrusted them with affairs, and gave them rights of final decision.

Except that they now take a more radical view of meritocracy, holding that even a farmer or an artisan might qualify for office.³¹

Logic. Law, which was already highly developed by the 04c, does not like synonyms, and it tends to define its terms very closely. In the course of contact with Confucians in office, the Micians also had to do the same thing: to cope with the different senses of some common ethical terms that both sides used. Thus was born the Mician art of logic. That specialty seems to have been pursued by a group distinct from the Mician ethical theorists, since their position sometimes contradicted the views of the Mician ethical philosophers. (In particular, the *logical* Micians did not believe in ghosts and spirits).

The earliest of the logical canons show a tendency to appropriate, and to redefine, terms used by the Confucians. Here are the first few:

5:53 (MZ 40:7, c0335). Benevolence 仁 is collective love 體愛³²

This turns a Confucian top-down virtue into a communal relationship.

5:54 (MZ 40:8, c0335). Right 義 is benefit 利

This turns Confucian duty into lateral good; the essence of utilitarianism.

5:55 (MZ 40:9, c0335). Propriety 禮 is respect 敬

This reduces elaborate Confucian ritual behavior to elemental human terms.

5:56 (MZ 40:10, c0335). Conduct 行 is action 爲

This removes the moral aspect, leaving only the fact of what one does.

It will be seen that these are subversive of the Confucian understanding of these terms, and attempt to standardize them instead in their Mician sense. There would be dialogue, but only (or so it was hoped) on Mician terms.

³¹For a fuller treatment of Mician and Confucian populism, see Chapter 6.

³²We should note that this canon is often read the opposite way, thus “To be jen (benevolent/humane/kind) is to love individually (Graham **Later** 276).

The Legalists. In recruiting officials and judging performance, the Legalists wanted not merit, but competence. The Analects idea of official recruitment was recommendations from personal acquaintance (#5:7, 5:13). They argued that in practice, any oversights would be automatically compensated:

5:57 (LY 13:2, c0322). Jùng-gūng was Steward of the Jì. He asked about government. The Master said, Lead the responsible officers, pardon small faults, advance worthy talents. He said, How shall I recognize the worthy talents so that I can advance them? He said, Advance the ones you know. The ones you do *not* know: will others reject them?

This deals with *omissions* in selection, but not with *errors* in selection. The Legalists envisioned a self-correcting method, specifying tasks and rewarding or penalizing success or failure in meeting those tasks. That is, the rewards and punishments used on the larger populace are here applied to the serving elite:

5:58 (GZ 4:5, c0315). Once a regulation has been made public, instances of noncompliance will be deemed disobedience to orders; the penalty is death without possibility of pardon. On examining the regulation, if it is contrary to the text in the palace archive, excesses will be deemed usurpation of authority, and deficiencies will be deemed failure to follow orders; the penalty is death without possibility of pardon.

The military ethos is encroaching on the civilian sphere: all crimes are treason.

This insistence on performing to specification angered the Analects people, who wanted more leeway, more room for personal judgement:

5:59 (LY 2:12, c0317). The Master said, The gentleman is not a tool 器.

Even the Micians, who preached subordination, wanted rights of final decision:

5:60 (MZ 9:3, excerpt, c0317). What are the three basics? If his position is not high, the people will not respect him. If his pay is not substantial, the people will have no confidence in him. If his official orders are not final, the people will not be in awe of him . . . And how can this be seen as a gift to the subordinate? It comes from wanting things to get done.

Expertise. One way to argue this is the metaphor of the specialist: a social inferior who nevertheless has expert knowledge, and is thus useful, in his way, to government. What if the expertise is precisely in government? The historian Xenophon (0487-c0354) reports Socrates as criticizing one Euthydemus for thinking that he can govern the state without studying:

5:61 (Xenophon: Memorabilia 4/2:2, excerpt, c0355). If in the minor arts great achievement is impossible without competent masters, surely it is absurd to imagine that the art of statesmanship, the greatest of all accomplishments, comes to a man of its own accord.

Xenophon's example of expertise in a person of low social standing is the musician. The idea of office gained by merit appealed to the Confucians, who probably learned this example from traders (perhaps Micians) who picked it up, along with other curious Greek ideas (page 78), in the taverns of Bactria.

Mencius, the second great Confucian figure, was in touch with the Dàuists (whose meditation technique he himself practiced), the Chí Legalists, and the egalitarian Micicians.³³ He framed this exotic statecraft metaphor in terms of a jade cutter rather than a musician. Here is how he put it to use in practical life. The year is 0316, and Mencius is speaking to the King of Chí:

5:62 (MC 1B9, excerpt, c0316) . . . Suppose we have a piece of uncut jade. Even if it were worth a myriad yì of gold, you would still have to entrust its cutting to a jade-cutter. But when it comes to the government of your state, you say, “Just put aside what you have learned, and do as I tell you.” How is this different from teaching the jade-cutter his job?

The Yēn Incident. In 0316, Mencius was made a minister in Chí. Then came the Yēn Incident. The principle of meritocratic rule was embodied in a tale of the ancient ruler Yáu abdicating in favor of virtuous Shùn, who in turn abdicated in favor of virtuous Yǔ, the supposed founder of the Syà dynasty. This appealing myth came to practical fruition in 0315, when the King of Yēn actually abdicated in favor of his virtuous minister Dž-jī 子之. The Heir Apparent of Yēn, deprived of his patrimony, rebelled. Civil disorder ensued. On Mencius’ recommendation, Chí occupied Yēn and restored order. Should Chí then go further and *annex* Yēn? On this military question, as it turned out, the ministership of Mencius came to an abrupt and ignominious end:

5:63 (MC 1B10, c0314). The men of Chí attacked Yēn and conquered it. King Sywān asked, Some say that This Solitary One³⁴ should not take it, others say that he should. When a state of a myriad chariots attacks a state of a myriad chariots, and in five weeks gets all of it, this is something that mere human strength cannot attain to. If I do not take it, there will surely be disasters from Heaven. How would it be if I take it?

Mencius replied, If you can take it and have the people of Yēn be happy, then take it. Among the men of antiquity were some who did thus: King Wú was one. If you take it and the people of Yēn should not be happy, then do not take it. Among the men of antiquity were some who did thus: King Wǎn was one.

A state of a myriad chariots has attacked a state of a myriad chariots, and they welcomed the King’s host with baskets of food and jugs of gruel. How can it be otherwise than that they were escaping from fire and water. If now the water should become deeper and the fire hotter, they will simply make another change.

Chí did annex Yēn. And a coalition of states, fearing that a Chí doubled in size would upset the balance of powers, invaded Yēn in 0314, expelled Chí, and installed a new King of Yēn. Mencius left Chí, and never again held a post in a major state.

³³For his role in developing the concept of populism, see Chapter 6, The People.

³⁴Conventional self-designation for a ruler; he is an orphan since his father has died.

The Micians, who had from the beginning opposed the war policies of the larger states,³⁵ picked up Mencius' "jade carver" version of the Xenophon expertise parable (#5:61-62) and used it to criticize a certain incompetent minister, one of the "gentlemen of the world" whose management of affairs the Micians regarded as wrong from beginning to end:

5:64 (MZ 47:8, c0310). Mwòdž said, As the gentlemen of the world cannot be butchers of dogs and pigs, they would refuse when asked to be such. Yet though they are not capable of being ministers in a state, they would accept such a position when asked. Is this not perverse?

Which in its witty way was unkind, but perhaps not entirely uncalled-for.

Jì-syà. The Yēn fiasco did not sour the Chí King on expert advice, but he did seek to put it on a firmer basis. After Mencius' departure in 0313, he set up a group of theorists at Jì-syà, headed by the naturalist philosopher Dzōu Yēn.³⁶

Abandoning Heaven. The Dàu/Dv Jīng had earlier preached a similar naturalistic doctrine: All things change, and success is therefore temporary:

5:65 (DDJ 9, c0335).

Than have it and add to it, better to stop.
 You may grind and polish, but you cannot keep long.
 Gold and jade may fill the hall, but none can ward them.
 The rich, high, and mighty but send themselves bane.
 When the work is done, he then withdraws –
 The Way 道 of Heaven.

The Dzwǒ Jwàn now dropped its earlier theories of a responsive Heaven, in favor of the view that stuff just happens. Says a wife to a sick ruler:

5:66 (DJ 3/4:1, excerpt, c0320). After fullness comes decline; this is the Way (Dàu 道) of Heaven.

Things come to an end, not as a penalty for our wrongdoing or miscalculation, but simply *because they come to an end*.³⁷ In another story, the wife of a Lǚ Prince, from the Chí house of Jyāng, is being returned to her home on his death, after her son, the heir, has been killed and a concubine's son set up as the ruler:

5:67 (DJ 6/18:6, excerpt, c0318) . . . She wailed as she passed the market,
 "Heaven! Jūng is wicked; he has killed the heir and set up a commoner."
 Those in the market all wailed. The men of Lǚ styled her "Doleful Jyāng."

A lot of good that did her. Heaven was silent, and the usurper ruled in peace.

³⁵For the antiwar program of the Micians, see #4:3-6.

³⁶For Chí naturalistic philosophy, see p83-85. Jì-syà was a neighborhood in the Chí capital. The six experts had no governmental responsibilities; they were told to investigate the causes of state success or failure (p75).

³⁷Note that, in the spirit of the times, a *female* speaker expresses this truth. For the late, cynical DJ abandonment of Heaven, see also #3:31 and Brooks **Heaven**.

Affirming Man. The Golden Rule, dismissed by the 05c Confucians (#5:25), now turns up again, and this time it is accepted as a basic principle:

5:68 (LY 12:5, c0326). Szmǎ Nyóu, grieving, said, Other men all have brothers; I alone have none. Dž-syà said, Shāng has heard that death and life have their appointed limits, wealth and honor rest with Heaven. If a gentleman is assiduous and omits nothing, is respectful to others and displays decorum, then within the Four Seas, all men are his brothers. Why should a gentleman worry that he has no brothers?

5:69 (LY 12:22, c0326). Fán Chr̄ asked about r̄vn 仁. The Master said, Loving others [ài r̄vn 愛人] . . .³⁸

5:70 (LY 12:2, c0326). Jùng-gūng 仲弓 asked about r̄vn. The Master said, He leaves the gate as though meeting an important visitor;³⁹ he uses the people as though assisting at a great sacrifice.⁴⁰ What he himself does not want, let him not do to others. In the state he will have no resentment; in the family he will have no resentment. Jùng-gūng said, Though Yūng is not quick, he begs leave to devote himself to this saying.⁴¹

The 04c Confucians have acquired a wider social sense of themselves.

Textualization continued. The Shī repertoire was finalized at 300 poems:

5:71 (LY 13:5, c0322). The Master said, If he can recite the 300 Poems, but in applying them to government he gets nowhere, or if being sent to the Four Quarters he cannot make an apposite response, then many though they may be, what are they good for?

To the late 04c imagination, even the preservation of Confucius' remarks was seen as a process of writing them down, rather than remembering them:

5:72 (LY 15:6, excerpt, c0305). Dž-jāng asked about being successful. The Master said, If his words are loyal and faithful, and his actions sincere and respectful, then even among the [non-Sinitic] Mán and Mwò he will be successful . . . When he stands, he should see this [maxim] in front of him; when riding in his carriage, he should see it on his crossbar. If he does this, he will be successful. Dž-jāng wrote it on his sash.

The substitution of texts for teachers went hand in hand with the substitution of antiquity (in the Shī and Shū) for present-day wisdom. Antiquity took wisdom out of contemporary arguments, and put it in the past, as shared wisdom. Texts did the same; they made possible comradeship among those who were not the literal followers of a specific teacher. This sense of solidarity across time and space gave a new dimension to the Confucian sense of duty.

³⁸The term jyēn ài 兼愛 “universal love” is a primary Mician principle; see #4:4. There is a pun in #5:69: r̄vn 仁 and r̄vn 人 “people, others” are pronounced identically.

³⁹He approaches his public service with due gravity and ceremony.

⁴⁰That is, with the utmost care, so as not to overwork the people.

⁴¹A conventional remark after one has received instruction.

Duty. Here is a parable of duty: a duty to set the record straight.

5:73 (DJ 9/25:2, excerpt, c0318). The Grand Historian⁴² had written, Tswēi Jù assassinated his ruler. Master Tswēi had him killed. His younger brother took his place, and wrote it, and so the dead now numbered two. *His* younger brother also wrote it, and [Master Tswēi] then desisted. A historian of the south, hearing that the Grand Historians [of Chí] had all died, took up his bamboo strips and set out [for Chí], but heard that the record had been made, and so returned.

This envisions a whole fraternity of professionals, all dedicated to the truth.

System. With textualization came systematization; the idea that wisdom is more than just a lot of sayings, and has a structure of its own. We have met the second of these as an interpolation (**#5:23**); here is where it fits chronologically:

5:74 (LY 15:3, c0301). The Master said, SẸ, you regard me as one who has studied and remembers it, do you not? He replied, Yes. Is that wrong? He said, It is wrong. I have one thing by which I string it together.

5:75 (LY 4:15, c0294). The Master said, Shv̄m 參! My Way 道: by one thing I link it together. Dzv̄ngdž said, Yes. The Master went out, and the disciples asked, What did he mean? Dzv̄ngdž said, Our Respected Master's Way is simply loyalty and empathy.⁴³

The notion of a principal concept which explains all the specifics was new. So was predicting the unknown from the known, as was being done at this time in calculating eclipses. That idea is here applied to the history of ritual:

5:76 (LY 2:23, c0317). Dž-jāng asked whether things ten generations hence could be foreknown. The Master said, In the Yīn's continuing with the Syà rituals, what they subtracted and added can be known. In the Jōu's continuing with the Yīn rituals, what they subtracted and added can be known. And if someone should carry on after the Jōu, even though it were a hundred generations, it can be known.

Up to now, we have had Chinese thought. From this point on, with the new ideal of internal consistency, we are beginning to have Chinese philosophy.

Peace. By the late 04c, the Lǚ Confucians refused even to *discuss* war:

5:77 (LY 15:1, c0305). Wèi Líng-gūng asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, If it is a matter of stem dish and stand,⁴⁴ I have heard of them. If it is a matter of armies and campaigns, I have never studied them. Next day he resumed his travels.

This put them closer to the Micians. It also ended their political influence in Lǚ.

⁴²Tài-shǐ 太史 is in origin the "Grand Astrologer," but here clearly a Historian.

⁴³Loyalty 忠 is a traditional warrior-ethos virtue (p116). Empathy 恕 is new; it is the civilian Golden Rule quality (see **#5:25**). Confucian philosophy is here being redefined, and in partly civilian terms. For the 04c Analects rejection of war, see **#5:77**.

⁴⁴Sacrificial vessels, symbolizing ritual knowledge in general.

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Being thus limited to private life, they attempted to justify private life:

5:78 (LY 1:1, c0294). The Master said, To learn something and in due time rehearse it: is this not pleasurable? To have friends coming from far places: is this not delightful? If others do not recognize him but he is not disheartened: is he not a gentleman?

In private life, women too can display virtues:

5:79 (LY 1:13, c0294). Yǒudǔ said, If his promises are close to what is right, his word can be relied on. If his respect is close to what is proper, he will avoid shame and disgrace. If he marries one who has not wronged her own kin, she can be part of his clan.

Virtue in one context is the best predictor of virtue in another context.

A **Canon** of six texts began to emerge at this time. Its first hint is in . . .

The Gwōdyèn 郭店 Texts, from Tomb 1 (c0282) at a site near the old Chǔ capital. They were used by the tutor of the Chǔ prince who became King of Chǔ in 0262. They include several tracts on human nature, and three sets of excerpts from the Dàu/Dú Jīng.

. . . an early 03c text called the Six Virtues 六德. The virtues define proper relations between husband and wife, father and son, and ruler and minister:

5:80 (Gwōdyèn, “Six Virtues,” excerpt, c0290). If we observe the Shī and Shū, they are present; if we observe the Lǐ and Ywè, they are present; if we observe the Yì and the Chūn/Chyōu, they are present . . .⁴⁵

Remonstrance was seen in another text as the highest function of ministers:

5:81 (Gwōdyèn, “Lǚ Mù-gūng,” c0290). Lǚ Mù-gūng asked Dž-sž, What sort of person can be called a loyal minister? Dž-sž said, One who always points out his ruler’s evils can be called a loyal minister. Mù-gūng was displeased, and motioned Dž-sž to withdraw. Chvngsūn Yì had an audience, and Mù-gūng said, Just now, I asked Dž-sž about loyal ministers, and he said, One who always points out his ruler’s evils can be called a loyal minister. This Solitary One is confused, and does not understand. Chvngsūn Yì said, Ah; excellent, this saying! Those who have risked death for their ruler’s sake: there have been such. But there have never been any who always pointed out their ruler’s evils. Those who risk death for their ruler’s sake do it for salary and position. But those who always point out their ruler’s evils do it out of their sense of right, and have no thought of salary or position. Were it not for Dž-sž, how could I ever have heard this?

But we may notice that it is the colleague, not the ruler, who is impressed.

⁴⁵This is the first mention of the six-text canon. The Shī and the Yì were complete by c0320, the DJ (“Chūn/Chyōu”) by c0312; Shū and the Lǐ were still being written.

The Chín Legalists rejected the whole idea of attaching authority to the words of the ancient sages, simply because the times themselves change:

5:82 (SJS 7:2c, excerpt, c0288). The Sage neither imitates the ancient nor cultivates the modern. If he imitates the ancient, he falls behind the times; if he cultivates the modern, he blocks his position (shì 勢) . . .

This is a military metaphor: any fixed position inhibits later maneuverability.

They also had doubts about what the Confucians and Micians were pushing. Quite apart from their being obsolete, these things were positively pernicious:

5:83 (SJS 4:2, excerpt, c0270). Farming 農, trade 商, and office 官 are the three permanent functions 官 in the state. These three functions produce six parasitic functions: concern for age and concern for nourishment, amusements and desires, and emphasis on intention and conduct.⁴⁶ If concern for these six becomes general, then the state is certain to be dismembered . . .

5:84 (SJS 4:3, excerpt, c0270). If a state has ritual 禮 and music 樂; if it has the Shī 詩 and Shū 書, if it has the good 善 and the cultivated 修, if it has the filial 孝 and the fraternal 悌, if it has integrity 廉 and discrimination 辯⁴⁷ – if a state has these ten, the superiors will not be able to order the people to war, and the state is certain to be dismembered, and even to disappear altogether. But if the state has not these ten, then the superiors will be able to order the people to war, and the state is certain to flourish, and may become King.

The last comment is especially pointed: the Confucians held that only with respect for age and antiquity, and an emphasis on cultivating personal virtue, could the ruler of a state become a true King.

The Micians, despite many disagreements on points of doctrine, later on came to be not unwilling to overlap strategically with the Confucians:

5:85 (MZ 48:16, c0275). Master Mwòdž was disputing 辯 with Ch'ngdž, and made reference to Confucius. Ch'ngdž said, You oppose the Rú;⁴⁸ why do you then refer to Confucius? Master Mwòdž said, This is something which is right, and cannot be altered. If a bird senses heat and drought, it will fly high; if a fish senses heat and drought it will swim low. On this, even if Yǔ and Tāng were to discuss it, they could not reach a different conclusion. Birds and fish are stupid, but Yǔ and Tāng must still go along with them. Should Dí then never refer to Confucius?

By this date the assimilation of Micianism to Confucianism was well advanced.

⁴⁶These, by pairs, are the faults of the three classes: the filial piety of the village, the extravagances of the rich, and the dedication of the serving elite.

⁴⁷Not the fine discriminations of the sophists, but any claim of the individual to discern and distinguish: to exercise private judgement. The state alone will judge.

⁴⁸A sly reference to the Mician chapters called 非儒, “Against the Confucians.”

Demoralization. The Mencians might feel isolated from their own time, but their textual self-identity now gave them some internal consolation:

5:86 (MC 5B8, c0275). Mencius said to Wàn Jāng, A good officer in a county will befriend the good officers in that county; a good officer in a state will befriend the good officers in that state . . . [And if that is not sufficient] he will also hold converse with the men of antiquity: he intones their poems, he recites their writings; can he then remain ignorant of what kind of men they were? On this basis he can discourse about their era. This is making friends in antiquity.

Syṵndž was beginning to be heard from at this time. His way of making himself known was to attack the other philosophers:

5:87 (SZ 6:2, c0269). They give rein to their nature, are comfortable with their desires. Their conduct is bestial; unworthy to be joined with the elegant or associated with the orderly. But what they propose has its reasons, what they say has its logic; it is sufficient to fool and mislead the stupid many – such are Twō Syāu and Ngwèi Mōu.⁴⁹

. . . and so on for five other pairs of wrong thinkers: Chṵn Jùng and Shǐ Chyōu (excess scruple), Mwò Dí and Sùng Kṵng (egalitarians), Shṵn Dàu and Tyén Pyén (Legalism and innovation), Hwèi Shī and Dṵng Syī (sophists), and worst of all, Dž-sž and Mencius (that is, the Analects and the Mencian schools).

The Mencians were having little discernible effect on the rulers of the time:

5:88 (MC 6A9, excerpt, c0273). Mencius said, Do not wonder that the King is not wise. Though it be the easiest plant in the world to grow, if for one day you warm it and for ten days chill it, it will never be able to grow. My audiences are also few, and then I withdraw, and in come others to chill it. Even if I should get some sprouts, what then? . . .

But they had courage:

5:89 (MC 6A10, excerpt, c0273). Mencius said, “Fish is what I want, and bear’s paw is also what I want. Of the two, if I cannot have both, I will let the fish go and take the bear’s paw. Life is what I want, and righteousness is also what I want. Of the two, if I cannot have both, I will let life go and take righteousness. Life is indeed what I want, but there are things I want more than life, and so I will not keep it at all costs . . .

And they saw hardship as toughening them for future achievement:

5:90 (MC 6B15, excerpt, c0270) . . . When Heaven is about to place a great burden on a man, it first tests his resolution, exhausts his frame and subjects him to starvation and want, frustrates his efforts to free him from his mental torpor, toughens his nature and supplies his deficiencies.

⁴⁹Twō Syāu is now entirely forgotten. Ngwèi Mōu figures in Jwāngđž 28:14 (Watson **Complete** 317f) as unable to restrain his desires.

As a rule, a man can mend his ways only after he has made mistakes, and it is only when a man is frustrated in mind that in his deliberations he is able to innovate . . . As a rule, states without orderly families and trustworthy gentleman, and without threat of foreign invasion, will perish. Only then do we learn that we survive in adversity and perish in ease and comfort.

Service. Those who avoided service in dangerous times clashed with those who accepted the risk. Thus did the dropout Jwāngdž people attack Confucius:

5:91 (JZ 4:7, c0264). Confucius went to Chǔ, and Jyé-yw, the Madman of Chǔ, wandered past his gate, saying

Phoenix, oh! Phoenix, oh!
 How is your virtue now brought low.
 A future age, you'll never live to see;
 Back to a former age, you cannot go.
 When All Under Heaven has the Way,
 The Sage spreads virtue far and wide;
 When All Under Heaven lacks the Way,
 The Sage in private does reside.
 And now, in the world of the present day,
 From punishment he tries to hide . . .
 Have done, oh! Have done, oh!
 With ruling by virtue those below . . .

The Analects people rewrote the Madman's jibe in this way:

5:92 (LY 18:5, c0264). Jyé-yw, the Madman of Chǔ, sang as he passed Confucius' gate:

Phoenix, oh! Phoenix, oh!
 How is your virtue now brought low!
 No point to criticize what's past and done;
 You may perhaps escape a future woe.
 Have done, oh! Have done, oh!
 Those who now serve, at their own risk do so.

Confucius came down to speak with him, but the Madman quickened his steps and got away, and Confucius was not able to speak with him.

Here, *Confucius* wins: it is now the cowardly Madman will not stand and argue.

The Analects also answered a primitivist challenge by parodying their story:

5:93 (LY 18:6, c0264). Tall-in-the-Mud and Bold-in-the-Mire were ploughing as a team. Confucius passed by, and sent Dž-lù to ask where the ford was. Tall-in-the-Mud said, Who are you driving? Dž-lù said, Kǔng Chyōu. Tall-in-the-Mud said, Would that be Kǔng Chyōu of Lǔ? He replied, Yes. Tall-in-the-Mud said, Oh, *he* knows where the ford is.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Sarcastic; Confucius thinks he knows how to get the world out of its evil state.

Dž-lù asked Bold-in-the-Mire. Bold-in-the-Mire said, Who are you? He said, Jǜng-yóu. Bold-in-the-Mire said, Would that be the follower of Kǔng Chyōu of Lǔ? He replied, Yes. Bold-in-the-Mire said, A thing overflowing torrentially – All Under Heaven is like this everywhere, and who is going to change it? And besides, rather than follow one who only withdraws from this or that man, why not follow one who withdraws from the entire age? And he went on ploughing without further pause.

Dž-lù returned and reported this. The Master said, consolingly, One cannot flock together with birds and beasts. If I did not take part with other men, such as they are, with whom *should* I take part? If the world possessed the Way, Chyōu would not be doing his part to change it.

So ashamed were the Jwāngdž people at this imputation of cowardice that they *accepted* the duty of service, and added advice on how to minimize its dangers. In the third such piece, Confucius praises Yén Hwéi in meditational terms:

5:94 (JZ 4:1, excerpt, c0256) Confucius said, You have got it. I will tell you about it:

You can now go wander in the ruler's little cage
and not be confused by thoughts of fame.
If you are received, then sing for him.
If you are not received, then be still.
Have no gateway, have no aperture,
Make Unity your abode, dwell in what can't be helped,
and then you will be there.

Methodological Moment. Is the Analects from the time of Confucius? Answer: See how it and the Jwāngdž here *respond to each other*, and how it and the Mwòdž (#6:44-46) *argue back and forth*. This cannot be explained as one text reacting to the other; the two texts *must occupy the same time period*. No one claims that Jwāngdž and Mwòdž were contemporaries of Confucius. Then much of the Analects must be *at least a century later* than Confucius.

Sywndž was now the chief Confucian. He called the Confucians Rú 儒, and within the Rú, he downranked Dž-sž and Mencius. He himself was a Great Rú:

5:95 (SZ 8:9, excerpt, c0268) . . . Such a Great Rú, though he dwell hidden in a poor alley in a leaky house, with not a pinpoint of territory, kings and princes cannot rival him in fame. When he has the use of territory a hundred leagues square, no state of a thousand leagues can challenge his superiority. He will beat down and crush aggressive states, and unify and unite the world . . . When poor and out of office, vulgar Rú scorn him. But when successful in office, the belligerent and aggressive change, the conceited and petty avoid him, evil persuaders dread him, and the mass of the people are made to have a sense of shame. If he can obtain office, he will unify the world . . .

Not less sharp were the enmities between different schools. The Confucians, or Rú, with their idea of service, were open to the charge that they were merely in it for the salary, like so many robbers. The Jwāngdǔ pounces on this idea:

5:96 (JZ 26:4, c0260). The Rú use the Shī and Shū in robbing graves.

The Great Rú announces to his henchmen,
 It's growing lighter in the skies,
 How goes our little enterprise?

and the Little Rú answer,
 The grave-clothes we have not unwound,
 But in his mouth a pearl we've found.

The Shī indeed tell us,
 Green, green stands the wheat,
 Growing on that hilly slope;
 In life, you were not generous,
 In death, what are you doing with a pearl?

Pushing back his whiskers and pulling down on his beard, the Rú insert their metal bar into his mouth, and gently pry apart his jaws, so as not to hurt the pearl inside.

The uncertainty of outward success led to an emphasis on inner success:

5:97 (MC 7A1, excerpt, c0269). Mencius said, For a man to develop his heart fully is to know his own nature, and one who knows nature will know Heaven. By retaining his heart and nurturing his nature, he is serving Heaven. Whether he is going to die young or live long makes no difference to his firmness of purpose. It is by awaiting what will befall with a perfected character that he stands firm on his proper destiny.

Emphasis is now being placed on the inner qualities of the Mencian sage.

Sincerity (chíng 誠) was the name found at this time for the situation where one's inner feeling and outer expression coincide. That word is sometimes only an adverb ("really"), but it acquires a special sense in this text:

Jūng Yūng 中庸 (JY) "The Doctrine of the Mean," a treatise attributed to [Kǔng] Dǔ-sī 子思, but actually compiled between 03c and Hàn. It takes a mystical but Confucian view. It was a central text in the Neo-Confucianism of the 12th century. Translated by Legge.

The early Confucians (#6:1-2) had already emphasized reflection on basic principles. This is taken up in mystical terms in a key section of the Jūng Yūng:

5:98 (JY 20:18, c0270). Sincerity 誠 is the Way of Heaven; being sincere toward things 誠之 is the Way of Man. Sincerity is hitting the target without effort, achieving the result without conscious thought. He who can effortlessly reach the Way is a Sage. To be sincere toward things is to pick out the good and firmly hold onto it.

The one who has so internalized virtue that it becomes reflexive is a Sage:

5:99 (JY 20:19, c0270). Study it widely, inquire into it deeply, think of it carefully, analyze it perceptively, carry it out diligently.

When the Mencians wrote JY 20:17-18 into their own text, they duplicated JY 20:17 (c0270) almost exactly, but changed JY 20:18 (here *italicized*):

5:100 (MC *4A12, excerpt, c0268). Mencius said, If those in subordinate position do not evoke confidence from their superiors, the people cannot be governed. There is a way 道 to gain the confidence of one's superiors: If one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his superiors. There is a way to be trusted by friends: If in serving one's parents one does not please them, he will not be trusted by his friends. There is a way to please one's parents: If on turning to look at himself, he finds that he is not sincere 誠, he will not evoke pleasure in his parents. There is a way to make the self sincere: If one is not clear about the good, he will be unable to make his self sincere. *So "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven; being sincere toward things is the Way of Man." There was never one who was wholly sincere yet did not move others. But if one is insincere, one will not be able to move others.*

The Mencians also added this parable of sincerity to the end of MC 4:

5:101 (MC *4B33, c0264). A man of Chí had a wife and a concubine, who lived with him in the same house. When their goodman⁵¹ went out, he would get his fill of wine and meat before returning. When the wife asked who he was eating and drinking with, it was always someone rich and honored. The wife said to the concubine, When our goodman goes out, he gets his fill of wine and meat before returning. When I ask who he ate and drank with, it is always someone rich and honored, but no distinguished person ever comes here. I will see where our goodman goes. She got up early, and followed unobserved where the goodman went. All through the city there was no one he stopped and talked with. At last he came to some people who were sacrificing at the tombs beyond the city wall, and begged their leftovers. When that was not enough, he turned around and went to another. This was the way 道 he filled himself. The wife returned and told the concubine, Our goodman is the one we look up to and spend our lives with, and now it is like this. With the concubine she cursed the goodman, and they wept together in the middle of the hall. And the goodman, knowing nothing of this, came swaggering in from outside, ready to brag to his wife and concubine.

Methodological Moment: Is this a true story? It involves difficulties: how could wife and concubine not know that they were living with a beggar? But like all parables, it emblemizes an issue, and packs a literary punch at the end. That is what it is there for: to emblemize a lesson and to be literarily effective. The question of historicity does not matter.

⁵¹Lyáng-rv́n 良人, literally "goodman," here (as in older English) "husband."

Sywndž Again. In 0258, the King of Chí invited Sywndž to be the senior figure at Jì-syà. Sywndž proceeded to argue against Chí cosmology (#3:79-81), but misjudged his mandate, and had to leave. He took a post at Lán-líng, in territory recently conquered from Sùng and Lǚ only months earlier by Chǔ.

The southern Mencians resented the need to argue against “Yáng” (the Dàuists)⁵² and “Mwò:”

5:102 (MC 3B9, excerpt, c0251). Gūngdūdž said, The outsiders say that you, Master, are fond of arguing. I venture to ask why. Mencius said, How should I be fond of arguing? But I cannot do otherwise . . . Sage Kings do not appear; the Lords give rein to their lusts; hermits put forth cranky theories, and the teachings of Yáng and Mwò fill the world . . .

Their northern Mencian colleagues (who, be it noted, here call themselves Rú) added this advice on how to handle an argument after you have won it:

5:103 (MC 7B26, c0251). Those who escape from Mwò go to Yáng, and those who escape from Yáng will come to the Rú. When they come, we should simply accept them. Those who in these days dispute with Yáng and Mwò are like chasing an escaped pig; once they have got it in the pen, they proceed to tie its feet.

The above remarks, which show Warring States advocacy groups opposing each other by name, go far to refute the modern superstition that there were no “schools of thought” in Warring States times.

Words. The Dàuists had denied that wisdom could be conveyed in words:

5:104 (DDJ 2, excerpt, c0315). Therefore the Sage abides in Affairs Without Action; practices the Teaching Without Words.

5:105 (DDJ 1, excerpt, c0310). The Dàu that can be spoken of is not the Constant Dàu.

The rival Legalists of Chí, on the contrary, claimed to possess the secrets by which Gwǎn Jùng had made Chí Hwán-gūng (page 27) first among 07c rulers. The Jwāngdž people attacked this claim, in a story about Hwán-gūng himself:

5:106 (JZ 13:7, c0250). Hwán-gūng was reading a book in his hall of state. Wheelwright Byěn was making a wheel in the courtyard below. He put aside his mallet and chisel, went up the steps, and asked Hwán-gūng, I venture to ask, what sort of book is it that the Prince is reading? The Prince said, The words of the Sages. He said, Are the sages living? The Prince said, They are dead. He said, Then what the Sovereign is reading is only the dregs and leavings of the men of old. Hwán-gūng said, I am reading a book; how should a mere wheelwright have an opinion about it? If you can explain yourself, very well. If you cannot, you die.

⁵²Pejoratively so called, in allusion to the hedonist philosopher Yáng Jū 楊朱.

Wheelwright Byěn said, Your servant will consider it from the point of view of your servant's own trade. When making a wheel, if I go too slow, the stroke is easy and infirm; if I go too fast, the stroke is hard and shallow. If it is neither too slow nor too fast, I get it in my hand, and respond to it with my heart. It cannot be explained in words, but there is a certain skill to it. Your servant cannot teach it to his son, and the son cannot receive it from your servant. Thus it is that now, at seventy years, I am still making wheels. The relation of the men of old to what they could transmit has likewise perished, and so what the Sovereign is reading is merely the dregs and leavings of the men of old.

Not even the Confucians could accept everything in the canonical writings. The Mencians challenged the authenticity of one current Shū text in this way:

5:107 (MC 7B3, c0255). Mencius said, If one were to believe everything in the Shū, it would be better not to have the Shū at all. Of the Wǔ Chǎng, I accept only two or three strips. A benevolent man has no enemy in the world; how could it be that “the blood spilled was enough to float staves,” when the most benevolent made war against the most cruel?⁵³

In 0254, Sywǎndž, who had been unsuccessful in Chí, gained a more potent authority when he was made Governor of Chǔ-occupied Lǔ. This area was the home base of both Mencian groups, the Analects group, and the DDJ school.

Sywǎndž described his policy toward the rival thinkers in this way:

5:108 (SZ 5:10b, excerpt, c0254) . . . If one attends to their words, they are mere rhetoric with no guiding principle; if one employs them, they are deceitful or achieve nothing. Above, they cannot follow the lead of a Wise King; below, they cannot bring order to the masses . . . If a Sage King should arise, these would be the first people he would put to death, only afterward proceeding to the mere robbers and thieves. Robbers and thieves can reform, but people like these cannot reform.

The last Mician ethical chapter takes up the danger of remonstrance, but also stresses the need of contrary opinion to the health of the state:

5:109 (MZ 1, excerpt, c0250). Rulers need contrary ministers; superiors need candid inferiors. If those who publicly dispute persist, and if those who privately advise carry on, [a ruler] can prolong his life and protect his state. If ministers and inferiors, fearing for their position, do not speak; if nearby ministers fall silent and distant ministers hum, if resentment knots up in the hearts of the people, if groveling and flattery are at one's side and good advice is kept away, then the state is in danger.

This could have been a Confucian statement: Protest is not at all irregular; *it is what keeps things working*. This sentiment shows how far the Micians had come toward merging with their rivals in office, the Confucians.

⁵³So effective was this complaint that the Wǔ Chǎng was later suppressed.

All very well. But true to his earlier threat, in 0249 Sywǎndž shut down all these text-producing operations, not excluding the Mencians, the “Small Rú.” It was his way of winning the human nature argument of twenty years before.

After 0249. Together with the more or less simultaneous Chín conquest of the Jōu King’s small domain, the end of Lǔ brought about a major redrawing of the map. The prestige centers had vanished: Jōu, the survival of the once powerful Jōu Dynasty of old, and Lǔ, descended from the first minister of Jōu. But neither Jōu tradition nor Lǔ literature was now going to count for anything. In their stead, there loomed Chín and Chǔ.

It is perhaps not to be wondered at if, at about this time, groups of Micians established themselves in both Chín and Chǔ. Those Mician branches were still remembered in Hàn.⁵⁴ There was not much they or anyone else could achieve in the real world by way of further text production, and except for some Chí continuations of the Analects and the Mencius, text production now languished. But there was still ample scope for the display of courage in lost causes.

Conspicuous rigor like that of the desperado Ywè Ràng (#4:58-59) was now forthcoming from the Micians. These stories are from the Lǔ-shì Chūn/Chyōu, a late Warring States and Chín work. Each stage of that text has its agenda, but all drew on a doctrinally diverse group of contributors, some of whom did have Mician affinities. The stories may not be true, but they are probably Mician.

Here is a story from the time when the Micians among the followers of Lǔ Bù-wéi were hoping to recommend themselves in their new Chín home:

5:110 (LSCC 1/5:5, c0241). Among the Micians was Grandmaster Fù Tūn. He dwelt in Chín. His son killed a man, but Chín Hwèi-wáng said, Your Excellency’s years are advanced, and he will not have another son. This Solitary One has already ordered the officials not to execute him. Let Your Excellency heed the Solitary One.

Fù Tūn replied, The law of the Micians says, He who kills shall die, he who injures shall be punished.⁵⁵ This is in order to forbid the killing and injuring of others. Now, to forbid the killing and injuring of others is the most righteous thing in the world. Though the King has made me this gift, and ordered the officials not to execute him, Fù Tūn cannot but follow the law of the Micians. So he declined Hwèi-wáng’s [generosity], and subsequently did kill him.

No Legalist state could ask for greater rigor. But we may notice that Fù Tūn follows not Chín law, but Mician law – he inhabits a state within a state.

⁵⁴For the Hàn evidence, which is from c0140, see HFZ 50 (Liao **Han** 2/298).

⁵⁵This is reminiscent of the three-article lawcode proclaimed by the Hàn founder Lyóu Bāng on abolishing the harsh Chín laws. “He who kills shall die, he who injures or steals, according to the gravity of the offense” (**SJ 8**, 1/362; Watson **Records** 1/62).

From a generation later, here is a story of Mician dedication in Chǔ:

5:111 (LSCC 19/3:4, excerpt, c0212). The Mician Grandmaster M̀ng Sh̄ng was friendly with the Lord of Yáng-ch́ng in Jīng.⁵⁶ The ruler of Yáng-ch́ng ordered him to mount guard in his city. He broke a jade ring as a tally. The oath went, “When the halves of the tally match, I shall heed [the order].” When the King of Jīng died, the officials attacked Wú Chǐ, drawing their swords in the place of mourning;⁵⁷ the Lord of Yáng-ch́ng took part with them. Jīng found him guilty. The Lord of Yáng-ch́ng fled, and Jīng moved to confiscate his state. M̀ng Sh̄ng said, I have received in care another’s state, with the gift of a tally. Now, I see not the tally, and yet my strength is not sufficient to resist. If I cannot die, it will not be right. His disciple Syw R̀wò remonstrated with M̀ng Sh̄ng, saying, If your death would benefit the Lord of Yáng-ch́ng, then dying for him would be right. But if it will be of no benefit, and if moreover it would cut off the Micicians in this age, then it would not be right. M̀ng Sh̄ng said, Not so. I am to the Lord of Yáng-ch́ng not a leader, but a friend; not a friend, but a servant. If I do not die, then from now on, those who seek a strict leader will surely not do so among the Micicians; those who seek a worthy friend will surely not do so among the Micicians; those who seek a faithful servant will surely not do so among the Micicians. To die for him is to carry out Mician principles and to perpetuate the Mician enterprise. I will convey the Grandmastership to Tyén Syāngdž of S̀ng. Tyén Syāngdž is a worthy man; what worry is there that the Micicians will be cut off in this age?

Syw R̀wò said, Be it as the Master has said. R̀wò asks permission to die first, to prepare the way for him. And he cut off his own head, in [M̀ng Sh̄ng’s] presence. M̀ng Sh̄ng accordingly sent two men to transmit the Grandmastership to Tyén Syāngdž. When M̀ng Sh̄ng died, those disciples who died with him numbered 180 men. When the two men had delivered the order to Tyén Syāngdž, they wished to go back to die for M̀ng Sh̄ng in Jīng. Tyén Syāngdž sought to stop them, saying, Master M̀ng has conferred the Grandmastership on me; you must heed me. But they afterward went back and died for him.⁵⁸

As a way of winning, this sacrificial rigor does not commend itself. But for those who *have* no way of winning, as Mencius told the ruler of tiny T́ng,

5:112 (MC 1B14, excerpt, c0311) . . . If a man but do good, then of his descendants in a later age, there will surely be one who will be a King. A gentleman in making a beginning starts a tradition that can be carried on.

Micicians and Confucians, like the early Christians with their cult of martyrdom, could see that one’s own death is not necessarily the end of the affair.

⁵⁶The older name for Chǔ; used here because of a Chín taboo on the word Chǔ.

⁵⁷The tale of Wú Chǐ’s death is an invention, and so therefore is this story.

⁵⁸We omit the concluding comment of the LSCC compilers.

The End. Thus did the learned squabble over whether to serve the state, counter each other's theories, impugn each other's texts, examine their inner lives, and display their outer dedication. Meanwhile, the state needed officials. The Chín law official Syǐ shows how Chín got them. Among his texts was his diary. It is mostly terse entries about state events: battles and court intrigues. The few personal entries suggest how he learned his trade and advanced in it:

5:113 (Shwèihǔdì plates 50-54, excerpts covering the years 0262-0217).

- 0262. Syǐ is born
- 0257. [Chín] attacked Hándān
- 0250. Wǎn-wáng succeeds as King of Chín; dies the same year
- 0249. Jwāng-wáng succeeds as King of Chín
- 0246. "Present" King succeeds;⁵⁹ Syǐ [in his 17th year] has a tutor
- 0244. Syǐ [at 19] is appointed recorder 史
- 0243. Syǐ [at 20] is appointed senior recorder 令史 at Añ-lù
- 0241. Syǐ [at 22] is appointed senior recorder at Yēn
- 0235. Syǐ [at 28] is appointed hearing officer 治獄
- 0234. With the army
- 0232. With the Píng-yáng Army
- 0231. Father dies; Syǐ [at 32] divines about his own future life
- 0217. "30th year" [There is no entry after this year; Syǐ has died]

After two years with a tutor, Syǐ was functionally literate. He became a lower officer at 19,⁶⁰ was promoted to hearing officer at 28, and remained at that rank for the rest of his life. He died aged 46, after 27 years of service to Chín, in the 30th year of the reign. He was buried where he fell, crammed into a cheap coffin with his official and personal bamboo-strip files piled about his body. Time would reduce them from neat bundles to disordered single strips.



It is not a terribly romantic story. It is merely the kind of story out of which the administrative success of Chín was built, piece by piece and man by man.

⁵⁹The future First Emperor. Syǐ would not have known his later sacrificial name.

⁶⁰That is, in the 19th year of his life (Chinese swèi 歲).